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A Gender Analysis of Participation
in Planning for Village Regrouping
on Lake Kariba Shoreline (Zambia)**

By

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List of Acronyms

ALCOM	Acquaculture for Local Community Development programme.
DoF	Department of Fisheries, Zambia.
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation.
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community.
WID	Women In Development.
ZZSFP	Zambia/Zimbabwe SADC Fisheries Project.

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Abstract

Until recently, Lake Kariba fishery like other fisheries in Zambia had been centrally managed by the government through the Department of Fisheries (DoF). Due to some problems of centralized fishery management, such as the high cost of regulation enforcement and high levels of regulation violation by fishers, the government embarked on a consultative process aimed at involving users in making and implementing fishery management decisions. The scattered nature of the fishers' settlement pattern that has developed overtime had to be abandoned to give way to the establishment of permanent, bigger and more organized villages. The involvement of users in making management decisions also required the setting up of local fishery management structures within these villages. This paper looks at the rationale for village regrouping, how men and women participated in the planning process, and the effects of the village regrouping exercise. It also looks at membership in the village level structures in terms of gender.

INTRODUCTION

The village regrouping exercise on the Zambian side of Lake Kariba falls within the broader context of the Lake Kariba Inshore Fishery Management Plan. The management objective is to maximise fish production while ensuring minimum damage to the resource (Zambia/Zimbabwe SADC Fisheries Project (ZZSFP) Report No.32, 1994). The village regrouping exercise is seen as a step towards communities' participation in the management of Lake Kariba Inshore Fishery in a co-management arrangement. The existence of well defined communities with discrete boundaries has been identified as one of the factors contributing to the success of community based resource management by resource management practitioners.

The paper gives an overview of the objectives of the village regrouping as a starting point. The main objective is to make a gender analysis of participation in planning for the village regrouping exercise, the hardships faced during the exercise and its effects.

Gender concerns have been incorporated elsewhere in other sectors, such as agriculture. However, incorporation of the same in the fisheries sector is fairly recent, despite women's active involvement (FAO.1988; Bacle and Cecil 1989; Kos 1991).

A Note on Gender Analysis

Gender has been defined as a social construct of expected behavioral roles. For Lerner (1986), gender is a cultural definition of behaviour as appropriate to the sexes in a given society at a given time. As social constructs, gender roles are dynamic and differ according to time, society and culture.

Gender considerations have been gaining significant attention in policy research. Development policy makers and project planners need to take into consideration the gender differences in the division of labour, roles performed and responsibilities, access to and control of the resources and decision making powers. It has been argued that lack of this consideration has led to gender-biased policies and projects. Most policies and projects treat men and women as a homogeneous group who would equally benefit from development interventions.

Work done by Boserup (1970) challenged the notion that a development initiative improves women's position in the same way as it does men's position. Her work proved that the women's position could actually worsen as a result of a development intervention.

The Women in Development (W.I.D) perspective made famous by Boserup's work, argued that women are an untapped resource that can contribute to development. The followers of the W.I.D perspective advocated legal and administrative changes to ensure that women would be better integrated into economic systems. Women's income-generating activities have been typical of W.I.D projects. Gender analysis was developed as a challenge to W.I.D. Gender analysis differs from the W.I.D

perspective in that while W.I.D focuses on women in isolation, gender analysis focuses on both men and women. Emphasis on gender rather than on women issues reflects a broader concern with women's roles and responsibilities in relation to those of men.

Why Gender Analysis?

Research and project analysis over the last two decades show that failure to consider gender in project design and implementation often results in failure of projects (FAO/ALCOM 1991; FAO 1988). Experience has also shown that with a recognition of the different roles traditionally and culturally assigned to men and women, their gender roles can assist in the achievement of project outputs (Robinson 1993). It is widely believed that those projects that include a careful analysis of the sexual division of labour and responsibilities and are designed in such a way as to realistically reflect the contexts within which men and women work are likely to be more efficient in meeting development goals. There is also ample evidence to show that disruption of the traditional patterns of division of labour and responsibilities between men and women have detrimental effects on the household economy and that neglecting the specific functions of women will have a negative impact on the efficiency, effectiveness and viability of interventions. It is this observed relation between gender considerations and project successes that justifies gender analysis.

But why gender analysis for Lake Kariba? Women are part and parcel of the fishing communities along Lake Kariba. As such, they are directly or indirectly affected by any interventions in the fishing industry as they are active participants in some of the industry's activities. Murphree (1985) and Walter (1988) discuss the participation of women in fish processing and marketing.

Data Collection

The data used in this paper was collected from various sources using various methods. Most of the data was collected during field visits to the fishing villages between May and August 1995.

Discussions were held with the Department of Fisheries (DoF) staff, Council representative, chiefs, village headmen, camp chairmen and kapenta operators to solicit their views on village regrouping. Focused group interviews were conducted with men and women in the fishing villages. This was aimed at getting their perceptions on the village regrouping exercise. Zonal and village management committee meetings were attended. Discussions were also held with committee members. This provided more insights on the functions and composition of these committees.

Secondary data from relevant ZZSFP documents was used. Other literature was also reviewed including the historical literature on the Zambezi valley people before the construction of Lake Kariba.

Limitation of the Study

As the data being used was largely from secondary sources, it has been difficult to give *verbatim* quotations about the contributions women would have made were they given an opportunity to participate in the planning phase of the village regrouping exercise. However, women's contributions could be deduced from their felt needs as identified in other studies such as the pre-project socio-economic study of the artisanal fishery on Lake Kariba (Murphree 1989). Some of the problems were raised by women during discussions. These issues will be raised later on.

RATIONALE FOR VILLAGE REGROUPING (As Perceived by the Department of Fisheries and Other Interested Parties)

There have been various arguments put across to justify village regrouping along the Lake Kariba shoreline on the Zambian side. Some of the arguments are presented below:

1. To control access to the fishery and regain traditional authority. The open access to Lake Kariba inshore fishery that was adopted by the post independence Zambian government encouraged fishers' movement to Lake Kariba. Since the shoreline is communally owned, with open access to the fishery, anyone could settle anywhere, even on islands and fish anywhere on the lake. As a result there was a danger of depleting the fish stocks due to uncontrolled access. As a consequence of open access the fishery became inhabited by various foreign ethnic groups from other provinces of Zambia. This led to the traditional chiefs losing their control over the people and the land. Another factor which led to the disruption of the village system was the Zimbabwe liberation war from the mid Seventies till independence in 1980. Village regrouping would revive the old village system that existed among the Zambezi valley people. Consequently chiefs would regain effective control over the people and the land and entry to the fishery would be controlled.
2. To enable the Department of Fisheries (DoF) to collect accurate fishery statistics and enhance law enforcement. DoF has the mandate to collect fisheries statistics (stock assessment, numbers of fishers, boats and gear), monitor violations of fisheries regulations and enforce the law. The scattered nature of the fisher settlements has made it difficult and expensive for DoF to perform the above mentioned functions in terms of staff, transport and finances. With fishers settled in permanent villages data collection would be enhanced. The communities will take over law enforcement responsibilities.
3. To enable District Councils to provide services to the fishing communities. It is the duty of the District Councils to provide services such as health, education, water wells or boreholes and roads for their respective communities. In addition to provision of services, the councils are to collect levies. The scattered nature of the fisher settlements made it difficult for the councils to

effectively fulfil any of the above. There are however, other factors contributing to council's failure to provide services to the fishing communities.

4. To promote community-based resource management. As pointed out by Pomeroy (1994), there has been great realisation that it is not sustainable on a long term basis to have government departments (in this case, the DoF) in sole management of the fishery without the involvement of the resource users. This has proved to be costly and inefficient. Given the situation, the reasonable option would be to involve the fishers and other resource users in a co-management framework. Community-based management is a central element of co-management. The fishing communities should take over the responsibility of managing and controlling the fishery. The fishers will have to determine who may use the resource and who is excluded from resource use. They will also have the responsibility to improve observance and acceptance of regulatory measures necessary for sustainable resource utilisation. The fishing communities will then benefit from managing the resource sustainably. It is assumed that the more benefits the communities receive the more they will be interested in sustaining the resource. Since co-management is about sharing powers, rights, and responsibilities the state will still have some commitments towards fishery management.

5. To promote tourism and other investments. The councils supported village regrouping as they saw the opportunities to promote tourism and other investments from which they would gain financially. With the abolishment of fisher settlements on the islands and fishing around islands, the islands could be leased out for tourism and other investments. The vacation of fishers from certain sites would also create land for alternative land uses.

6. To reduce crime and conflicts. It is alleged that there has been rampant crime such as poaching of fish and wildlife mostly on islands. Kapenta operators have been concerned over kapenta losses through thefts by artisanal fishers. On the other hand, artisanal fishers have been complaining of harassment and marginalisation by the kapenta operators. Fishers will form committees to monitor illegal activities and provide for a forum for artisanal and kapenta fishers to discuss and resolve their conflicts or misunderstandings in the villages.

7. To improve the declining catches. According to artisanal fishers, individual catches have been declining. Their observations show that currently one needs more nets to catch what could be caught in one net some years back. One of the kapenta fishers confessed experiencing a decline in catches in the case of tiger fish. Some of the reasons given by the fishers for the declining catches include the following:

- a) Low water level
- b) Use of illegal fishing methods
- c) Lack of a closed season

d) Increased numbers of fishers

Fishers argued that the water level was the most important factor in determining fish stocks. However, it is difficult to understand how the catches would improve when fishers continuously fish from the same waters. As fishers rightly point out, there are other factors that contribute to declining catches which may still persist beyond village regrouping.

How Did Fishers Feel About The Village Regrouping?

In principle the idea to regroup villages into bigger permanent ones was accepted by the majority of the fishers as uncontrolled settlement of fishers was identified as a problem by fishers who attended the fishery management workshop. Points 5 and 6 above also suggest fishers' acceptance of the regrouping. It is however important to note that fishers had mixed feelings about the regrouping exercise and reacted differently.

Those fishers who felt so negative about the exercise - more especially the migrant fishers - left the Lake Kariba fishery for other fisheries. As one Bemba fisher put it: "ubwikalo nabukosa kuno, nalabwelela fye kumyesu" (staying here is becoming difficult, I will just go back home). As mentioned earlier on, other fisheries are still centrally managed by the government with minimal control due to technical and financial problems being faced by the DoF. Some fishers seem to favour a situation where there is minimal control on their behaviour and activities, especially those who wish to engage in illegal fishing methods. Among those who left the fishery were those who were engaged in illegal activities such as fish and wildlife poaching while purporting to be fishers. These movements reduced the number of fishers from 2,283 to 1,355 and villages from 251 to 67 (Lupikisha 1993 and Chitembure 1995).

The indigenous Tonga fishers were not opposed to the village regrouping idea, as such, since that has long been their tradition. The Tonga people have always lived in permanent organized villages along the Zambezi river. However, the Tonga were not amused with the idea of having to share their land with newcomers.

As for women, it is only the household heads who have the right to decide which village to reside in. Traditionally, a married woman does not decide on such issues. She receives a directive from the husband to change villages and any resistance may mean being divorced.

PARTICIPATION IN THE PRE-VILLAGE REGROUPING ACTIVITIES **(Planning Phase)**

The main reason for regrouping the fishers along Lake Kariba shoreline in permanent villages was to create a framework for the communities' active participation in managing the fish resource. Active participation in the planning and implementation of fisheries management by those affected is a crucial element of community-based

management (Pomeroy 1994). This may increase the communities' commitment to the success of the plan. The importance of community participation in the whole project cycle in relation to project success need not be overemphasized.

A series of activities preceded the village regrouping. In the first stage, a review of Lake Kariba Inshore Fishery was carried out with the focus on development and management of the artisanal fishery. Information for this review was collected through reviewing the relevant documents. Part of the information was collected through discussions with representatives from the relevant organisations closely involved with the management of the inshore fishery to identify current constraints and problems on the fishery. The list of interviewees included traditional chiefs and headmen, councillors, artisanal fishers, kapenta operators, project representatives and others (ZZSFP Report No. 32, Annex 1). While there was representation from the men fisherfolk, there were no women interviewed from the fishing village. Table 1 shows the categories of people interviewed.

TABLE 1 : Categorisation of People Interviewed

Interviewee Category	Number Interviewed	Percentage
From within fishing communities (men)	50	60.20
From within fishing communities (women)	0	0.00
From outside fishing communities (men)	32	38.60
From outside fishing communities (women)	1	1.20
TOTAL	83	100.00

Note: The table has been made using the list of people interviewed (ZZSP Report No. 32, Annex 1: 40-42)

From the composition of the people interviewed it becomes clear that the constraints and problems presented were not gender balanced. These were presented as perceived and experienced by men. While it is widely believed and accepted that it is only the women who can adequately represent themselves, they were denied the opportunity to give their views and share their experiences. Despite the unequal

opportunities for participation between men and women, the review report partly formed the agenda for the management workshop which was the main activity in the second stage.

The review was followed by a Fisheries Management Workshop which was attended by council staff, project staff, kapenta and artisanal fishers, traditional chiefs and headmen and others (ZZSFP Report No.32, Annex II). While there were male artisanal fishers in attendance, there were no women from the fishing villages. Table 2 shows the categorization of the workshop participants.

TABLE 2: Categorisation of workshop participants

Participant Category	Number of Participants	Percentage
Artisanal fishers (men)	10	17.86
Non-fishers (men and women)	46	82.14
Women from fishing communities	0	0.00
TOTAL	56	100.00

Note: The table has been made using the list of people who attended the workshop (ZZSFP Report No. 32, Annex II: 4 - 5)

This forum was to identify needs and problems of inshore fishers and of fishing communities. The same forum was also to come up with solutions to be turned into planned activities to address the identified needs and problems. It was at the same forum where it was decided that fishers have to be regrouped in permanent bigger but fewer villages for them to participate in fishery management.

There is reason to believe that the identified activities will not reflect gender differences as they were from a male perspective. For example, "Train women in net mending for income generation" (ZZSFP Report No.33, Annex 1, Output 2.1 : Management Plan) was identified as an activity to address women's concerns. While it would be good to enhance women's skills in net mending, it may not be feasible for them to earn an income from net mending due to the existing social arrangements. Overtime, fishers gain experience in net mending and have continued to mend their own nets during their spare time. Women are already involved in net mending at a

household level though it is done occasionally. This is done as part of the household activities which are not paid for. This makes the idea of net mending services being on high demand for a reasonable fee highly questionable. If anything, this project is more likely to increase women's workload without a corresponding economic gain while reducing the workload for men.

The workshop resolutions which were presented in the "Management of Lake Kariba Inshore Fisheries (Zambia) Plan" were to be disseminated to the rest of the fishing communities through meetings during which the rationale for village regrouping and other proposed management measures were explained. For various reasons these meetings were dominated by men who raised their concerns. The few women who attended these meetings did not find the situation conducive for their active participation. The various reasons that contributed to women not participating included the following:

1. Although women play an important role in most of the fishing related activities, they are not directly involved in commercial fish production. Therefore women's participation in fisheries meetings is not considered necessary.
2. Since fishing is regarded as a man's activity, all fishery management-related meetings are targeted at men.
3. According to tradition, the man as a head of the household represents the household. This implies that the man should attend all meetings on behalf of the household and relay messages to the women and other household members. This implies that women may attend meetings if the men (heads of households) are not available or if the women are heads of households.
4. Management measures are on fish production which is a man's domain. Fish processing and marketing which are dominated by women are not part of fishery management.

Women in Fishing Villages

The discussions in the previous sections have shown that women's views on the perceived problems were not incorporated since women were not interviewed; neither were they invited to participate in the planning workshop. During the problem identification sessions of the workshop, fishermen identified the following:

- . Expensive fishing gear
- . Expensive transport.
- . Lack of better markets
- . Lack of social services
- . No societies (Fishermen Association)
- . Lack of loan facilities
- . Kapenta rigs dragging nets
- . Insufficient training

- . Department of Fisheries training not geared to the needs of fishermen
 - . No ice plant
 - . No drying facilities
 - . Lack of toilets at Siavonga harbour
 - . Use of illegal fishing methods
 - . Uncontrollable settlement of fishermen.
- (SADC Project Report No. 32, Annex II)*

These problems could be categorized as follows: fish production and marketing, fisher settlement patterns, infrastructure and social development. Given these as issues needing attention from the men's point of view, what issues would have been raised by women? Since women are subsistence fishers and traditionally do not control settlement patterns, they are less likely to have raised issues related to the same. However, they would have raised issues directly related to their role in the fishing villages that is fish processing and marketing and provision of social services such as clean drinking water, clinics and schools. On processing, women have a heavy burden of collecting firewood for processing and other household uses. Therefore firewood saving techniques would be more than welcome to the women. Women also need to learn processing techniques that would improve the quality of processed fish as this would reduce wastage and increase their incomes. Related to processing is the issue of deforestation as the trees that are used for firewood and charcoal are not being replaced. As for marketing, the women complained of the high fish levies and lack of training in marketing and simple accounting.

It is clear that women's concerns in the fishing villages are not directly related to fish production which is the focal point for fishery management. However, fish production cannot be treated in isolation. Awareness of this fact was demonstrated by fishers' and other groups' inclusion of other issues not directly related to fish production during the problem identification exercise of the workshop. One such issue mentioned was lack of development of lakeshore communities. This called for the development of a lakeshore development plan which among other things would include issues identified by fishermen during the planning workshop at the expense of women's concerns.

PARTICIPATION IN THE POST-VILLAGE REGROUPING ACTIVITIES **(Implementation Of The Fishery Management Plan)**

Community's participation in project implementation is one of the factors that contribute to project success. Soon after the regrouping, fisheries management committees were established at zonal and village level. Appendix 1, Figure 1 shows the fishery management plan implementation structure.

The composition and roles of these committees were defined (ZZSF Report No. 32). The zonal committees were to oversee fishery management related activities,

developmental plans and finances at zonal level.¹ The Zonal Fishery Management Committees shall comprise of the following members:-

- 1 Chief
- 1 representative of the District Council in which the zone is located.
- 1 Fisheries Development Officer
- 4 representatives drawn from Integrated Village Management Committees.
- 2 Kapenta fishermen drawn from the Kapenta Fishermen's Association at the zonal level.
- 1 representative of the NGOs or development agencies operating along Zambian side of the Lake Kariba shoreline.
- 2 businessmen with active and well established businesses along the Zambian side of the Lake Kariba shoreline.

The Zonal Fishery Management Committees shall meet on a quarterly basis and have the following functions:-

- monitor fishing practices;
- monitor implementation of fisheries regulations;
- draw up development action plans;
- source funds;
- identify projects/development activities for which funding is required and disburse funds;
- examine and approve requests for funding submitted to the Zonal Committee;
- manage the Revolving Fund; and
- review progress and report status of implementation of the Fisheries Management Strategy/Plan to the Department of Fisheries on an annual basis.

The Integrated Village Management Committees were to oversee the village activities in relation to the fishery management requirements. The Integrated Village Management Committees shall comprise of the following members:-

- 1 elected Chairman from the village fishermen.
- 3 elected fishermen.
- 1 village headman
- 1 fisheries assistant in charge of extension worker in that particular area.

¹ A zone is an area of the lake and hinterland falling under the jurisdiction of a particular chief (ZZSFP Report No. 32). Therefore the lake is divided into the following zones: Zone 1 - Senior chief Mweemba; Zone 2 - Chief Sinazongwe; Zone 3 - Chief Chipepo; Zone 4 - Chief Simamba.

1 village scout who should be a fisherman appointed to be an honorary fisheries officer under Section 24 of the Fisheries Act 1974.

The Integrated Village Management Committees shall have the following management tasks:-

- . recommending fishermen for issue of licences.
- . facilitating and assisting in enforcement of fisheries regulations.
- . ensuring good sanitation practices in fishing camps.
- . assisting in selection and designation of centrally placed landing points in each village.
- . assisting the village/Camp Chairman in carrying out any other duties essential for good management.

Membership in these committees was not gender balanced. Very few village committees had female members while most of them were male only. Even in some committees where women had been elected, their contributions are generally not taken seriously. Zonal committees had male only committee members. Various reasons could be cited for this situation. Firstly, women were less knowledgeable about fisheries management for the reasons discussed above. Secondly, women were not confident enough to contest for any position especially given the fact that the committee roles were not clearly understood. Thirdly, women were not voted for. Nabane (1994) discusses other reasons contributing to male only village based committees.

The Village Regrouping Exercise

The previous sections looked at the participation of men and women in the planning of the village regrouping exercise. This section is a gender analysis of the hardships/effects caused by the village regrouping. As indicated earlier, women were not attending meetings or workshops where the village regrouping issue was discussed and yet they had different roles to play during the movement. Colson (1971) discusses a similar situation during the resettlement in the Zambezi valley in preparation for construction of Lake Kariba where it was assumed that only men need to be mobilized .

As pointed out by some fishers, it may be too early to give a full-fledged assessment of village regrouping and how it has affected both men and women. This information was collected less than a year after the exercise had began. At the time of data collection people were still moving to their new villages. However, it would be worthwhile to look at the hardships and problems faced by those involved. Some hardships could be short lived while others could have long term effects. What effects did the movement to the designated villages have on ownership, rights and access to the important productive resources that is the fishery and land? The move affected men and women differently. It created loss of land and landlessness among men and to a limited extent among women, especially in those households that had to change

residential villages. Women who usually get user rights from their husbands lost and would continue to lose their rights as land becomes more and more scarce. For most men the loss of land may be temporary since, if land becomes available, the men as heads of households would receive first priority in land allocation. Women would consequently become more dependant on men for access to land and this may have a long term effect on the economic position of women.

For those households that were already resident in the designated villages, their ownership of land was affected in that they had to surrender portions of their land to newcomers. This implied women either losing their user rights or having access to smaller portions of land.

Men's rights and access to the fishery were affected in the sense that one had to register in one village from where he would be conducting his fishing activities and have a fishing license to have access to the fishery. While men's access to the fishery would be controlled by a licence requirement, women's access would not be restricted by licensing. Since women use lines and hooks and baskets, they do not require a fishing license to access the fishery.

Some more general effects of the village regrouping are highlighted below:

1. Given limited time in which to prepare to move, packing of household items which is normally a woman's duty had to be done in a hurry. This was more true for the 500 households who had to be removed from the islands by the Zambia Paramilitary Police (Times of Zambia : 23/02/95) who patrolled the islands daily to ensure no fisher had access to the fishery. Most of those affected were women as most men could paddle away in canoes. Colson (1971) describes a similar situation where police were involved to move those who were resisting resettlement prior to the construction of Lake Kariba.
2. Women had to look for thatching grass for the new structures. This was a big problem given the fact that the Zambezi valley and the country as a whole never received enough rains the previous year. Secondly, the grass was being looked for at the wrong time of the year, towards the rain season, with some fishers moving even in the middle of the rain season (Times of Zambia : 23/02/95). There was no thatching grass nearby. In some of the new villages, arrangements had to be made to import grass from elsewhere. This led to delays in thatching the structures causing a lot of inconvenience to the households.
3. It is the women's responsibility to collect firewood for cooking purposes and fetch water for household use. In some new villages, women complained of the scarcity of firewood and that they had to walk long distances to look for firewood. The same applies for drinking water. Women had to walk long distances or puddle to get clean drinking water.

4. Agricultural activities especially on lowland gardens were disrupted since women who are the main actors had to divide their time and labour between agricultural and village regrouping activities. Agriculture is both a source of livelihood and income. Through sales of fresh maize and vegetables from gardens women raise income to buy some household essentials. It is however difficult to assess the effect of the disruption on household food security.
5. Social arrangements and ties were disrupted since neighbours and kin had to resettle in different villages in certain cases. Some fishers even moved to other fisheries. These social ties are appreciated by both women and men for security in times of need.
6. For men as well, the village regrouping time was a period of high labour demand as everything had to be done at a faster pace. It was the men's duty to select the new village sites and demarcate residential plots. Men had to clear individual plots, cut poles, dig up foundations and put up the required houses and other structures.
7. The men as heads of households and owners of boats had to arrange transport for their family members and property. Various local arrangements had to be made to facilitate the movement of people and property. Those who moved to other fisheries had to hire trucks.
8. Fishing activities were disrupted due to the movement and labour requirements at the new sites. The seriousness of the disruption is difficult to measure in terms of the hardships faced by those households that depend on fishing for their livelihood and income.

Despite all the above problems and hardships that were faced as a result of the village regrouping, both men and women were hopeful that they would derive some benefits in the near future. The following are some of the identified expected benefits by gender:

Women:

- . Increased co-operation amongst themselves
- . Increased business opportunities

Men:

- . Improved communication between Department of Fisheries and the fisherfolk
- . Access to credit facilities
- Increased individual catches
- . Minimised use of illegal methods
- . Increased business opportunities
- . Increased co-operation among fishers

While both men and women anticipated some benefits from the village regrouping, there were some differences between them. Women had fewer benefits which were social in nature such as getting assistance in times need. Men anticipated benefits

related to fish production such as increased catches. This is not surprising given the fact that men are involved in commercial fish production.

CONCLUSIONS

The need for community participation in planning and implementation for the community to meaningfully and effectively participate in a co-management arrangement was not reflected in practice especially in terms of gender. In the planning stage, the participation was not gender balanced as women from the fishing villages were not given the opportunity to participate. This lack of women's participation in the planning process is an indication of the strong tendency to narrowly define fishing as the actual catching of fish excluding fish processing and marketing where women are actively involved. It also indicates the under-representation of women's contribution to the fishing industry. The continued lack of women's participation may in turn re-enforce the narrow conception of fishing and under representation of women in that activity.

Since the survey team which significantly contributed to the plan never interviewed and invited any women to the management workshop, they do not know the women's role in the fishing industry. This is evident from the type of projects proposed for women. The women felt left out in the deliberations that led to village regrouping. "Ngankutobela mulawo waamba balaacisi" (we have to follow our leader's orders) was one of the statements made by one woman to summarize their participation in pre-village regrouping activities.

The village regrouping exercise caused some hardships to both men and women with some fishers even opting to move to other fisheries. The magnitude of hardships or problems differed among households and according to gender. The period of moving was a labour demanding time and the normal activities of men and women were disrupted. Most of the hardships were short-term while others could be long-term and have long-term effects, for example the conflicts over land. Since this is traditional land under the jurisdiction of local leaders, there is need for chiefs, headmen and the villagers to discuss the issue and come up with a new policy on the allocation of land to suit their situation.

Village regrouping has been accepted partly due to the anticipated benefits which were promised during fisheries management meetings conducted to inform the communities about the management plan. In the event of these promises not being fulfilled, the implementation of the management plan may be affected negatively. With fishers having done their part, they felt that new management plan campaign promises should be fulfilled as one fisher commented, "we have moved so we are waiting for government to start fulfilling its promises". From the arguments given to justify the village regrouping, it becomes clear that the management plan is not only a fishery management plan but a lakeshore development plan as well and this is what makes women's participation crucial.

Special efforts should be made to ensure women's participation in the management committees. For instance women could be given group membership in management committees and/or their views could be solicited for in special ways and incorporated in the decisions. Since these committees have some decision making powers, lack of women's participation may lead to decisions being biased towards male-related issues which may not be satisfactory to women as members of the communities. As actors and beneficiaries of the fishing industry, women must also be involved in the decision making process regarding the fishing industry in general and fish as a resource in particular.



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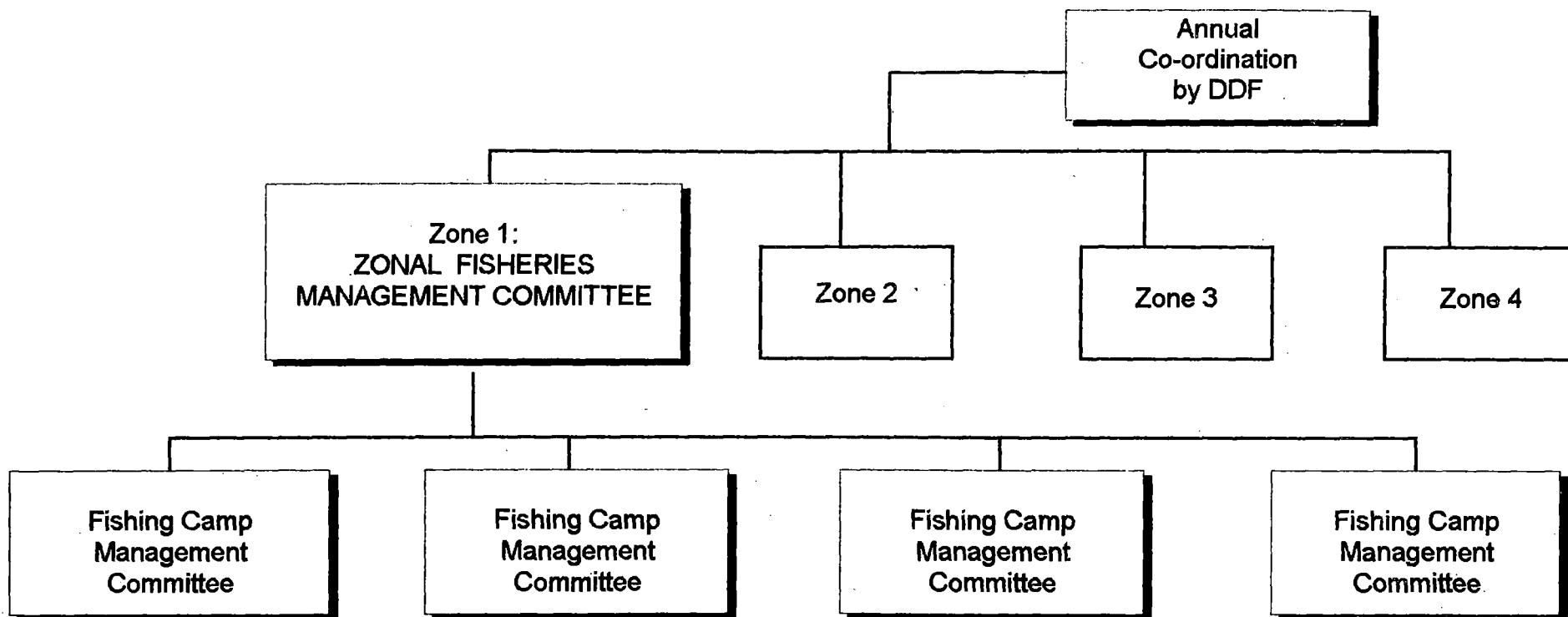
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APPENDIX 1

Figure 1: Organisational Structure for Lake Kariba Fisheries Management Plan.



Source: Chipungu P. and H. Moinuddin (1994) Management of Lake Kariba Inshore Fisheries (Zambia). A proposal. Zambia/Zimbabwe SADC Fisheries Project (Lake Kariba) Chilanga, Project Report Number 32 page 5.



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